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sion of 10 per cent on cost of structures; what guaranty is there that they would not strike for higher wages and thus for a higher commission? Doubts such as these have long delayed many a plan in its paper stage. Now that a Yorkshire town (Halifax) has actually entered upon a tentative scheme "to see on a small scale if the Guild can make good," the period of mere theoretic criticism has perhaps passed. A compromise has also just been made between the Ministry of Health and the Manchester Guild. We read: "The compromise, by combining the principle of lump sum per house with that of a percentage on costs, secures both that it shall be to the interest of the guild to build as cheaply as it can and that a return sufficient to secure continuous employment to the guild operative, as against casual work, is assured." That the powerful financial organization, the Coöperative Wholesale, has backed the scheme by assuming insurance and furnishing building material gives confidence both to the public and to the guild.

An encouraging article in the most recent issue (at this writing) of the *Manchester Guardian* closes with the words: "Even those who were not at first favourable to the guild idea, and were profoundly sceptical as to its practicability, are said to be impressed by the fine spirit with which the men are entering into their work." The wide and keen interest excited by the guild idea is due largely to a growing conviction that "labor" will never again give the essential energy to production without such changes in the capitalistic sanctities as to convince the wage-earner that in some definite sense he is an acknowledged partner in the industrial process. Both sentimentally and practically the guild offers him this chance as it offers "social authorities" an opportunity without grave risk to meet the labor challenge.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

The Limits of Socialism. By O. FRED BOUCKE. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. 259. \$1.50.)

The dual character of socialism, as a theory of social evolution and a social ideal, naturally suggests the double question as to the residue of truth in the theory after the destructive criticism of enemies and friends, and the extent to which the hopes of socialists might be realized if their program were put into operation under favorable circumstances. These are apparently the "limits" which the author has in mind, although there is a certain ambig-

uity in his use of the term, which is more strictly applicable to the practical than to the theoretical side of socialism. Another question at once arises as to whether Marxian economics is the indispensable basis of the socialist program and what prospect of realization is left after the theoretical scaffold has been knocked down. The author's statement that today American socialism is stronger theoretically and practically than ever, seems to be inconsistent with his enumeration of its theoretical and practical weaknesses, and to involve the assumption that faith rather than reason is the socialists' mainstay. Yet the faith of American intellectuals has been sorely tried, if not weakened, in recent years, although the movement which they started may go on, under more ruthless leaders, regardless of theoretical or practical difficulties.

In regard to theory, Professor Boucke finds that socialism erred in declaring conditions of production and exchange to be causative of all other facts of socialism; in attributing all values to one factor; in holding capitalism responsible for all social evils; and in prophesying increasing misery for the proletariat until the coming of the social revolution. Socialism was right, he says, in taking an empirical position; in ignoring transcendentalism; in pointing out the instability of society; in correlating science and reform, ethics and economics; in stressing the social roots of evil; and in preaching the gospel of prosperity as the basis of civilized life. Such, evidently, are the theoretical limits of socialism, although the author does not attempt to set forth the essential doctrines of socialism, nor to distinguish between socialists, mere social reformers, and sociologists who recognize the truth of much for which socialists have contended. In this connection the concept of limits has slight content, involving little more than the separation of the wheat from the chaff in socialistic theory.

In regard to the program of socialism, the author makes a worthy contribution to a much neglected subject in that he points out the difficulties which socialists will encounter in trying to realize their ideals, and the limited success which they are likely to attain. From a careful summary of gains and losses due to socialization of industry, he concludes that there would be in the United States a gain in labor power of about 5 per cent, or, under the most favorable circumstances, not over 15 per cent. The gains then, in production, distribution, and consumption would be far less than the proletariat have been led to expect. In the sphere of government, too, socialism has its limits, because of the

inevitable tendency of power in a democracy to fall into the hands of a minority; and when we contemplate internationalism we are forced to the conclusion that democracy must anticipate dark days, when group antagonisms reach their full fruition. Socialism offers no guarantee against war, unless there be a willingness on the part of the proletariat of every country to redistribute the world's goods, irrespective of national boundaries.

Notwithstanding such limits as these, which must bring grievous disappointment and disillusionment to the proletariat, Professor Boucke believes that socialism has contributed much to social reform, especially in calling attention to evils in the economic system and suggesting ways and means of social advancement. Social reform, he rightly says, must be based on social science, and "the data of biology and psychology, of sociology, and economics, furnish the light by which eventually a prescription may be filled for the curing of social patients." Thus the author reverts to the orthodox position that sound theory and practice are and must be one and inseparable; whence it follows that, if Marxism be abandoned, some better social theory must be found, else the world will flounder blindly on in the old genetic way. Indeed, as has been intimated, it will probably do some floundering in any case.

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